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It will be seen that in all these cases the woman is a potential wife for the man she calls *wagun*, for he may have as his wives two sisters either synchronously or consecutively, and he is entitled to take his brother's wife after the death of his brother. If this marriage takes place, the terms for 'husband' and 'wife' are substituted for *wagun*. But as long as the *wagun* relationship obtains, certain restrictions are observed. I once saw Marotē pass near a log on which her *wagun*, Togen, was sitting. As she approached she called out '*Watagio!*' ('Look out!') Immediately he rose from his seat, and remained standing till she had gone. People who are *wagun* to each other may not eat in each other's presence. If this cannot be avoided, the woman must cover her face with her hood. They may not touch each other's body or hair. A man's wife's sister may not prepare his food. Sobak's wife's sister, Bawt, was divorced from her husband at Hanahan and came to live with her sister at Kurtatchi. In the olden days Sobak would, he told me, have married her, but he refrained from doing so in deference to the wishes of the priest, who discourages polygamy. Bawt and her three children, however, made their home permanently with Sobak and his wife, sharing their single hut. While his wife was paying a visit to her relations at Hanahan, both continued to sleep in the hut, but Sobak went to his *kiar*, Watchiu, to get his meals. (Thus precisely reversing the taboos observed among ourselves!)

*Wagun* may not address each other by their personal names, but may use adopted names, e.g. the woman may be called by the name she takes if her child dies. For example, Pesē's first child died when it could barely walk; since then she has been known as Tchinamoa—'mother of one (dead child)'. Matarē, her sister's husband, calls her by this name, never using the name Pesē.

These taboos are usually brought to an end when the mother or father of the woman dies. Ceremonial pudding is prepared by the woman and her sister. A length of *imun* (ceremonial currency of flying fox or porpoise teeth) is hung on a spear by her sister's husband, and put up beside her hut. The woman comes out with her hood on her head. Her *wagun* comes up to her and takes it off. The woman then takes possession of the spear and the *imun*, but at some later date she must reciprocate with another gift of like nature. The two families eat the ceremonial pudding together, and the *wagun* taboos then cease to be observed.

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# III

# MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

124 585 [197] NO marriages took place at Kurtatchi during the nine months of my residence. Had there been any, they would have been conducted according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, since the village now has a resident native Mission teacher. If I had gone there a month or two earlier, I should have been able to witness the final stages of the marriage of Kakari, Pinari's nephew and heir, to Muben, a girl of rank from the village of Baniu, but I did not hear of this until too late. The account here given was obtained from a group of people who had themselves taken part in the events they described, of which at least the marriage ceremony itself was sufficiently recent to be clearly remembered. It was told in public, the audience, as usual, chiming in at intervals to add some detail omitted by the narrators. During visits to other villages, I obtained what information I could about the ritual as performed there, thus eliciting some local differences which are noted in their appropriate places. The main lines of the procedure are, however, similar throughout the area dealt with in this book. I was able to be present at some of the preliminary proceedings conducted on behalf of different individuals, but for the sequence of events and for the bulk of the detail I have been obliged to rely on my informants.

## SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

584 A boy may be betrothed even before he has put on the *upi*, i.e. when he is less than seven or eight years old, and a girl when still quite a baby. The boy's father makes a series of visits to various [436] villages, and when he finds a girl who takes his fancy, he brings a spear, puts a string of *beroan* (ceremonial currency of shell disks, see p. 446 and Pl. 67) round it, and offers it to the girl's mother. If the betrothal meets with her approval, she takes the spear and puts it up in the rafters of her hut, where it remains as a sign that the girl is promised. The father of the boy and the mother of the girl chew the betel-mixture together, and arrange a time when the boy's mother will go and chew betel in the girl's village. The boy

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is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have at his disposal.

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, taking with her some leaves of the plant called *usun*, which were used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and the variegated leaves of *ing* (*Coleus Blumei* var.). This plant is grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet.

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village and paints the girl's hair with *ois*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *komau*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the woman's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *aps* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another.

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

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provid- them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kŏbă* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kŏbă* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kŏbă* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kŏbă* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

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PLATE 6

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436
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*a.* DISPLAYING CEREMONIAL CURRENCY FOR A BRIDE
*b.* NEARER VIEW OF THE CURRENCY DISPLAYED

[Facing p. 86]

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *mesak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *mesak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7a) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116] Facing p. 87. Auckpt

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| *Occasion.* | *Transactions.* |
|---|---|
| 10. Marriage ceremony. Usually not until boy has taken off *upi* and girl has been through her first menstruation ceremony. | Exchange of ceremonial baskets of taro. Much food given by bride's mother to bridegroom's relatives. |

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## MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

583

It is recommended in *Notes and Queries* (1929 ed., p. 101) that the investigator should 'employ the native term in describing or referring to payments or gifts made by the groom or his group to the father or group of the bride'. Among the people of North Bougainville there would appear to be no special designation for this transaction. Since it always takes the form of strings of *imun* or *beroan*, which I have described as 'ceremonial currency' (for reasons given in Chapter XII), I have used this phrase in connexion with the marriage payments, supplementing it, where the context seemed to render this advisable, by the words 'handed over in respect of a wife'. This is, admittedly, clumsy, but it states exactly what takes place, without begging the question of its significance, while none of the more convenient expressions proposed in the extensive correspondence that has been going on over this matter seems to be entirely without objection. (See *Man*, 1929–33, *passim*.)

[436]

In the area with which this book is concerned, neither the ritual nor the social aspects of the situation seem to be considered of importance. The currency which changes hands is definitely not a symbolical token marking 'the sealing of a contract', nor is it an 'indemnity' or 'payment of compensation to a group that loses a member'. The many discussions I had with the natives, both men and women, leave me in no doubt whatever that they do, actually, regard it as a financial transaction exactly on the same lines as any other purchase, but of more importance than most, the use of ceremonial currency being confined to very special occasions (see Chap. XII, pp. 446–9). Nowadays, actual coin sometimes changes hands instead of strings of shell disks and teeth. One father of my acquaintance demanded £10 in shillings for his daughter, which her suitor thought was too dear! The word for the handing over of the currency, *wen*, is the same as that which is used for 'pay' in speaking of any commercial transaction involving ordinary buying and selling (which in this community is usually performed through the medium of barter). In speaking of illicit

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852 565 The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

565 On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house [435] some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

852 565 436 Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the [523] teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was [302] seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

852 565 602 The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[726] [727] 266 [1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Hahon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tsunaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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It was always made clear that the taboo on knowing about these things did not apply to me, as a white woman, but only to the women of their own people, so I have no reason to think that anything was purposely concealed. 881

A boy usually goes through the *wapi* ceremony at the age of about eight or nine, judging from the size of the younger of those wearing it (Pl. 20 *a*). But if there is a shortage of food and no ceremony is being held, or if his family are unable to take their share in providing the necessary payments, both in ceremonial currency and in food, his participation may be delayed until he is a good deal older. Some children undergo it still younger, but if, on being sent to the bush for the seclusion preceding the ceremony, they cry for their mothers, they are sent back to wait for a subsequent occasion. One small boy at Kurtatchi who had been thus sent home was only about seven at the time of my visit, though the *wapi* had been held some time back. The *upi* which had been prepared for him was hidden in the bush, where it still remained when the account was given to me. As a rule, every boy from those about nine up to those almost arrived at young manhood (Pl. 20 *b*) will be found wearing the hat. The decision as to whether a boy shall put on the hat at a forthcoming *wapi* ceremony rests with the boy's father, and depends partly upon whether he possesses the necessary length of ceremonial currency (*imun*) which he must pay to one of the old men of *tsunaun* rank to make the boy an *upi*. This man must not be a member of the boy's lineage. [436]

The *wapi* ceremony is preceded by a period of seclusion in the depths of the bush. The day upon which the boys must go to the bush is fixed at the discretion of the *tsunaun tʃan*, that is, the leading man of rank in the group of villages concerned, who will arrange it when a suitable number of candidates is available. The time spent in seclusion is called *wawilhē*. It used to last for a year, as far as I could ascertain, but of late has been cut down to about three months, owing, they say, to the fact that the District Officer does not like the boys to be absent when he comes round to inspect the village, to line the people up for payment of head-tax, and so on. One of the District Officers told me that he was sometimes asked to give permission for the boys to be absent from such a roll-call for three months, and to ask any other officers who might be visiting the village not to require their presence; this he was willing to do. [565] 881 648 651

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778 few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to
534 make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun*
[436 (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and
824 several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the names of which are *iwig* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees. The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string. To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

881 The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for
534 the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance.
778 During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

534 Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in
773 the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

539 A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the permission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

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881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

### MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 294 621 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the people of the mountains to come down and help to make the special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* [554] do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. [292] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made [465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. [436] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 294 764 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

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Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge, and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and twisted belt (*sosui*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut, but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*, i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round her neck she wears a *pirir* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

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PLATE 67

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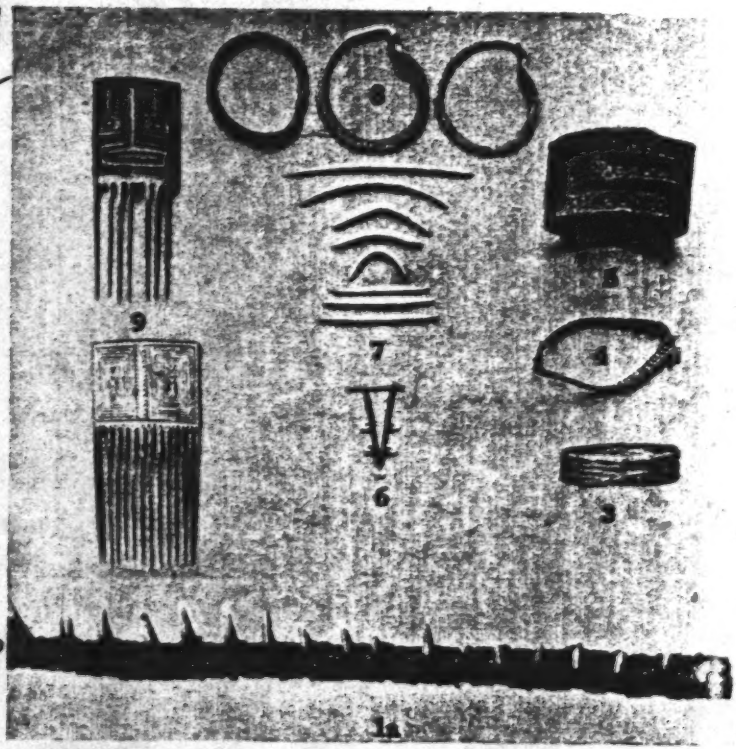


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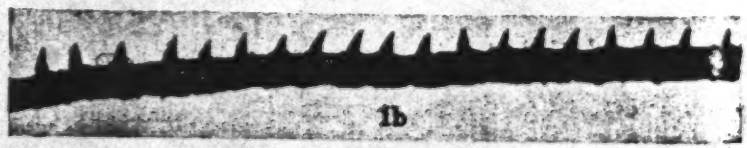


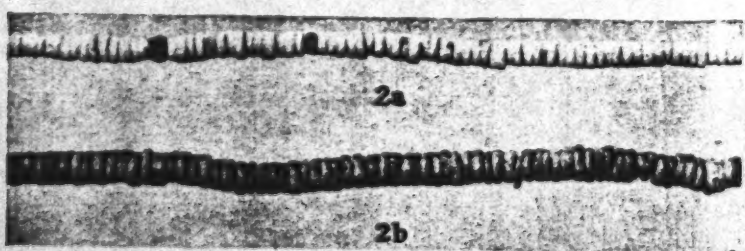


PERSONAL ORNAMENTS AND CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

1a. *Imun* of porpoise teeth. 1b. *Imun* of flying-fox teeth. 2a. White *beroan*. 2b. Purple *beroan*. 3. Expanding armlet of pandanus leaf. 4. Armlet of plaited grass. 5. Armlet of dyed fibre, from Kunua. 6. Ear ornament. 7. Nose ornaments. 8. Armlets of trochus shell. 9. Bamboo combs.
Nos. 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, are reproduced actual size.

[facing p. 21]

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of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to the olden times.

Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*, Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round the neck or waist or hung over the shoulder. Anything worn across the shoulders is referred to as *sawiro*, if put round the waist the word is *wōs*.

Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks not unlike leather.

The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me, and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no attempt to copy it.

The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

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437 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats
438 obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods. The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually
439 paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price
465 of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured
651 labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10*s.* on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or
439 Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

## CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground
171 flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

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p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

*Beroan* is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *waris* as sign of grief.

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436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage then *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

*Imun* consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, *1a*, *1b*). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a yau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started 11½ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and 13½ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

435 A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tsunaun* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

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## SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

*Some occasions for the use of* imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [584]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

## DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hōbā*.



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436 or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings 437 of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

## RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

476 A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. [574] As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is [422] described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito [226] fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

764 Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the 764 parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed 431 to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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are part of longer dreams. They do not form the point of central interest in the dreams in which they occur, and were not the subject of special remark by the dreamers, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where the natural functions of the body are not matter for secrecy.[1] In view of the smallness of number I do not know whether any significance is to be attached to the fact that three out of the four incidents occur in the dreams of adolescent boys wearing the *upi*, the exception being that of an adult female (No. 64, see below). The dreamers just referred to are, of course, long past the age at which there could be any possibility of a 'latent period', as discussed by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 212). In one dream (No. 48, p. 560) the element of the fantastic enters: 'I carried a long thing that looked like the excrement of a pig; it touched my skin and I stank.' At the end of a long dream about *srar* (No. 50, p. 554) it is reported that a man went out to relieve himself, and an *srar* caught him and took him to his hole. Another reference will be found in No. 52, p. 556.

(2) *Childbirth and suckling.*

The one dream involving childbirth is remarkable for the number of apparently unrelated incidents, for the numbers of individuals concerned in it, and for its reference to the customary dietary taboos in force under such circumstances. (See Chapter IV, p. 158.)

No. 64. Marotē (adult female).

I dreamed about a pig. Pirier (a neighbour) was standing by, and Gav's father (her brother-in-law, whose name she may not say) ran after a wild pig, and Tsonaian and I went up, and Pinari (her father, the most important person in the village) was angry with us because we frightened the pig, and the pig ran away into the bush. Then we went back.

Then Wakos (a widow, not connected with the dreamer) gave birth to a child, a very big baby, a boy, and Binas (one of her father's wives, not her mother) gave birth to a boy too, but Binas's baby was very small. I took the baby to his father and his father looked after him very well. Then Wasē (her brother) came, and the baby defaecated on Wasē.

Then Pinari called out to Wakos to eat bananas and coco-nuts, but

[1] The identification of faeces with money is not, of course, to be expected in a community where money is not used except in the case of the few young men who have received it as payment for work on plantations, and for the payment of taxes to the Government.

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[436]

the animal world do not exist: they are taken solely from the bird world.

Since children inherit their mother's clan symbol, it follows that, if they are girls, they belong to a clan whose members the father can marry and can theoretically be married by him. In practice we find this in Buka and northern Bougainville; there it is not rare that the father is married to his own daughter and has children by her. This is not regarded as forbidden, but a union of two people who have the same clan symbol is considered a crime. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the very same view prevails, but its practice is not so general as in the north. A similar arrangement probably also exists in the other Solomon Islands. I conclude this from a statement of Woodford in his book Among the head-hunters, p. 40 ff. It says there: "It came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name of them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is Kema, upon Savo Ravu. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is Kua . . . . The natives told me that man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste . . . . [7] Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." He then also mentions the castes Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.

The native acquires wives in various ways. In part he steals them from a neighboring tribe and marries them if the clan symbol allows it; if not, he sells the stolen woman to a native whose symbol allows him to marry her. In by far the most cases, however, he barters for his wife. As medium of exchange he makes use of the current money varieties. In Buka a wife costs from four to six fathoms of white shell money (hēruanne) or two to four lengths of tooth money (baîîu and rāki). On the islands of the Bougainville Strait a wife costs from five to ten fathoms of white shell money (pālassale) or one to two fathoms of red shell money (mismis). On the mainland of south Bougainville the same two types of money are used as media of exchange, but in addition one called mānei, which is made on Shortland and serves especially for the trade dealings of the islanders with the mountain people. The latter uses as a medium of exchange exclusively the mānei imported from the Shortland Islands; they call it aputa. This money has substantially less value; one needs twenty to thirty fathoms

in order to acquire a wife. Abducted wives are married only in Buka and north Bougainville, but not in the southern regions of the island; it seems that all prisoners are killed there. 436 583 171

At a normal wedding, as far as I could ascertain, there are no further ceremonies. When the purchase is concluded, the man takes the bought woman home with him, and the wife's relatives give a present consisting of cooked food. After about a week the purchaser and his relatives reciprocate. At special weddings, however, certain festivities take place. In European museums one rather frequently finds objects from Buka and north Bougainville that are commonly called "dance clubs." Some of these are illustrated for example in Edge-Partington, Volume I, pages 244 and 245 (with the incorrect heading: "New Britain Archipelago"); Volume II, page 125 (the note to 3 is based on an error). Furthermore, in Schmeltz and Krause, Catalogue of the Museum of Godeffroy, Plate VI, Figures 3 and 3a. Also the dance club from Treasury Island that is depicted in Guppy's work unquestionably diffused from the north. These dance clubs are correctly named, but they are used only for specific ceremonies. If a chieftain gives his daughter to a native in marriage, great festivities are arranged. The participants fashion clubs of this sort, which are called kaisa and vary greatly according to the taste and the skill of the maker. Most frequently the flat clubs have a broad blade that is painted black, white and red, and are ornamented with the characteristic grotesque human figure or only with its head at the upper end. Other dance clubs are shaped like a lancet, in imitation of war clubs, and have triangular or diamond shaped figures that are painted red, white or black on a black or white background. As a rule they are all made of soft wood that is easy to work, but now and then you find them made out of palm wood or some other heavy hardwood. The wedding guests hold the clubs in their hands; groups of dancers surround the couple, sometimes both, sometimes just one of them, and the clubs are alternately held up in the air or stuck in the ground in a circle around the central figure. After a number of different figures have been executed, they throw away the kaisa, or the boys and youths pick them up and sell them to passing ships for a song. For this reason one can occasionally get hold of hundreds of these dance objects in that region without difficulty, whereas at other times it is impossible to acquire even a single one despite the most tempting offer. 585 585 293 [531] 585

When a woman's husband dies in Buka and north Bougainville, she returns to her parents, if they are still alive, or to her closest relatives; 768

not unlike our scale-chains [Schuppenketten: A part of the German parade uniform. ed.] --is wound around the wrist. 301

Leg ornaments are seldom worn. On Bougainville I have occasionally observed rattan bands that were bound tightly around the ankles and that were sometimes dyed red; these rings are woven around the ankle and cannot be removed.

For toilet purposes a comb is used or, more properly speaking, an instrument for scratching the hair. Sometimes this instrument consists of a single, thin, pointed piece of wood, and sometimes it has from two to five teeth. Bamboo is the material normally used, but in south Bougainville they make them with greater care. There the upper end is often neatly woven for about 4 to 6 centimeters with variously colored bast fibers. The owner of a comb like this sticks it into his thick woolly tuft and, when he has the time and opportunity he scratches his hairdo into place. I wish to observe here also that the islanders do not treat their hair with lime; only on festive [22] occasions do they dye their hair with various pigments pulverized in oil. Red, green and white are the favorite colors, and by means of these various patterns are produced. The same colors serve also for the beautification of the body: burned ochre supplies the material for the red streaks around the eyes and mouth or for dyeing the external ear red; white is less common and is for the most part customary only for certain mourning ceremonies. 302 [384]

## Money

436 [171]

In Buka and northern Bougainville, as well as on the Carteret and Nissan Islands, three different types of money are to be found, of which two are characteristic for this region. Almost all the types of money that I have seen in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands consist of shells worked to a greater or lesser extent; in the northwest part of the Solomon group the current money is made of animal teeth. The generic term for it is ulihu, but it is divided into two types, called reki and baiu: reki consists of the teeth of a type of bat; baiu, on the other hand, is made from the teeth of dolphins. A string of reki has about 300 teeth and is about 110 centimeters long, whereas the baiu strings consist of about 500 teeth and are 3 meters long; however, they are of equal value. All the teeth are bored through at the root and strung on a thin thread. The teeth are

arranged in such a way that the larger ones are always at the middle of the string and the smaller ones at both ends. But in order to make the string stronger, it is placed at the roots of the teeth between two thicker strings and these in turn are tied with a thinner string so that the individual teeth stand in intervals of about 3 to 6 millimeters, each tooth precisely parallel to the others and all the tips pointed the same way. Accordingly a string of ulihu looks as though the teeth were projecting at equal intervals from a string approximately 7 millimeters thick. This string weaving is dyed with red ochre; as a rule a small oliva shell is attached to its ends. This money is also made right in the regions of its use and seems to be quite current in these districts. It disappears as soon as you travel a few miles south from the north end of Bougainville--on the west as well as on the east coast. 436

The third type of money, on the other hand, which is called biruan, is much more widespread. These strings can be encountered from Buka to the Shortland Islands, where they are called pilasalle, and they are supposed to occur even much farther south. I do not know where they are made; no one seems to know anything about it in the north or in the south; both regions ascribe its origins to the other, but completely without basis. Biruan consists of rows of round shell disks of about 5 millimeters diameter and 1 to 1 1/2 millimeters thickness; the outer edge is rubbed smooth and polished, and the center has a hole bored through it. Most of the disks in a string of biruan are made of a mollusk ranging from white to white-gray in color; intermittently, however, there occur also reddish-brown disks of the same dimensions--singly or in groups--without any set arrangement. [171]

The farther south you go, the more frequently the reddish-brown disks appear in the biruan--probably because in the south you encounter a sort of money that is made exclusively of reddish-brown disks of spondylus and which has the same value as biruan. These red money strings are called mismis and probably stem from New Georgia. In the whole southern half of Bougainville as well as on the Shortland Islands this money stands in high esteem; on Choiseul and Ysabel it has a similar value. The strings of mismis are made just like those of biruan; but in order to attain a higher value, they insert at certain intervals of 15 to 20 centimeters alternately black and white disks for a distance of about 4 to 8 centimeters; the white disks are made of shell, and the black ones partially from the same material and partially from a certain black seed. 436 171

On the Shortland Islands a very crude sort of money, which is called 436 ●
mŭuli locally, is made for commerce with the inhabitants of the Crown 171
Prince Range; the mountain people call this money ŭputa. It consists of
a conus mussel, whose pointed end has simply been broken off and whose
upper end has been pierced so that it can be strung; the individual shells
are about 7 millimeters wide and 7 millimeters in diameter.

[23] In the mangrove regions of Buka and north Bougainville you fre-
quently find the shells of a bivalve, which are strung on a string by the
hundreds. These strings also are used as money for trade with the mountain [439]
people.

Although the previously described objects represent the value of 437
actual money, this still does not imply that the natives use only these ob-
jects as media of exchange in commerce among themselves and with their
neighbors. Rather, all their superfluous possessions are also used for this
same purpose. The agricultural mountain inhabitants swap fruit to the
coastal inhabitants for fish; armrings of tridachna and conus, as well as
woven armrings, are favorite barter objects when it is a matter of trading
for spears, bows and arrows; and scarcely an object can be mentioned that
does not represent a certain market value.

## Household Equipment

The household equipment on the northwestern Solomon Islands is 323
practically the same from Buka to Shortland, even though local variations [171]
occur. Characteristic for this region is the knowledge of pottery-making.
Cooking pots of baked clay, but without a glaze, are to be found in every
house. The method of manufacture is the same everywhere: first the clay
is carefully kneaded and freed of all pebbles; then the potter (the making
of pots is exclusively the affair of the women) takes a fist-size piece into
her hands and, using a round stone and a wooden spatula, she forms the
bottom of the container; when this part is finished, strips of clay of about
10 to 20 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 centimeters in width are placed
on the edge of the finished base; with her left hand the potter holds the
round stone on the inner surface and fits the edges together with the
dampened spatula. In this way strip after strip is built up until the pot is
finished. In order to handle the pot more easily, they prepare a ring of